

## The Proclamation of President Lincoln on Emancipation.

[From the New York Express.]

The President has at last been bored by the radicals into doing what he repudiated in General Fremont, General Hunter, General Phelps, and others—that is, firing a paper proclamation at the rebellion. We do not know what liberty is allowed in free white men to discuss this proclamation freeing negroes—but we shall venture on the discussion of it as far as we think a white man's liberty will permit. Before we do this, however, we have to say that it is not a matter to be regretted; that the President has at last done what the New England Abolitionists have so long been boring him into doing—as, under that dictation, it has to be done, &c., and as being done, we shall soon see whether or not, as they have predicted, it will end the war in sixty or ninety days by over-awing, affrighting and astounding the rebels.

In the first place, it strikes us, the President has no more constitutional power to issue such a proclamation than any other man. If he has any constitutional authority to free negroes he has a corresponding power to enslave them. The power exercised is an assumption, therefore, throughout, and hence is mere *brutum fulmen*, the more, therefore to be deplored as mere paper thunder, because it but excites, arouses and demoralizes the South, in banishing all hope and in compelling despair. The power, if it exists, is a mere military power, independent of, and over, the Constitution, inasmuch as it changes the character of our civil, constitutional government into mere Abolition military despotism. In the next place, what strikes us, is the impertinence of the utterance. The rebels have, within twenty days, been almost in Washington, where the President sits in the White House, and even now, we are told from Washington, Washington is so unsafe that Sigel and Heintzelman's corps are indispensable in or about the forts for its preservation—while in the West, Cincinnati has to be fortified to be safe, and Louisville is so unsafe that the women and children have been warned to flee from it. In such a crisis to proclaim freedom for slaves in Texas, Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, or Arkansas, is about as absurd as when General Hunter, slithering on the coast of South Carolina, proclaimed the slaves free in Georgia, Alabama and Florida. The whole world will laugh at the impotence of this mere paper thunder—the European world as well as the rebels, in their yet untouched States and strongholds.

The utterance of such a proclamation, under existing circumstances, so it seems to us, will add 300,000 rebel soldiers to the rebellion, and be on the instant worth 30,000 men to the rebel Breeze in Kentucky.

The President—so it seems to us once more—is, in the utterance of this proclamation, doing his best to divide the Northern States and to split them up into parties—as well as in prolonging the war indefinitely. Everybody holds to a certain principle in his proclamation, that slave property is like all other rebel property, a fair property for confiscation or appropriation—and that a rebel's slave taken in war becomes as "free" as the rebel's "granary," or "armory," or "force," generally. But no great party yet holds in the North that we are bound to be lax to free slaves in Maryland, or Kentucky, or elsewhere—or that the Federal Government is under any obligation or moral to undertake a vast system of negro colonization. Northern taxation for the Southern liberation of slaves is a new policy, or new policy, certainly not from our "fathers" who, in freeing the slaves of New England, or of New York and Pennsylvania, left those States "free" to be rid of their slaves in their own way, and at their own expense or cost.

The President of the United States seems to have little conception of the enormous debt he proposes to add to the existing enormous debt, when in this proclamation he lays down his three propositions:

The one, to pay for slaves made free by the States. The other for the colonization of the free negroes generally. Another, for the compensation of slaves lost by loyal citizens in the rebel States.

We are rich enough, with about a thousand millions of debt now impending over us, and of a million of men under pay in the field to increase that debt, to undertake what he proposes? Are not such undertakings the doom, we may say, the damnation, of the laboring class for one hundred years, to the service of the capital of this country, and of Europe, which must make us loans therefore?

But there are other great considerations pending—these are the revolutions proposed in the political systems of the States, and of the labor of the country. If, as the President recommends, we deport 4,000,000 of slaves to Africa, or Central America, we entail upon the white labor of the North the doom and debt of the tax-groaning serfs and labor slaves of Europe—but if we do not deport them we doom ourselves at home to an equality and fraternity with these slaves, and the white human mind shrinks from, with apprehension, if not with horror.

Four millions of slaves emancipated in South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas or Texas must, if emancipated, have certain political rights.—They must vote and govern, or be governed. If they are governed, the whites there will soon become their masters and re-enslave them. If they are not governed they will assume political powers, as in Jamaica, and Hayti, and soon govern here as there. In several of these States the blacks far outnumber the whites, and, as in Hayti and Jamaica, would soon vote the whites down and ride over them in the use of their political power. The blacks would thus soon govern such States as Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana, and when they do govern they will forthwith send two black United States Senators to Washington, black members to the House of Representatives, and white people of the North, if we continue in that Union, shall thus be compelled to share this black partnership with them. Are we ready for this? Will it pay for the taxation we are submitting to, and for the prodigious outflow of human life and human blood we are lavishing on the field of battle?

Another thing that startles us in this Proclamation is the contrast of the positive act of emancipation, January 1, 1863, with the mere paper promises of the President to recommend payment, colonization, &c. The President offers, by proclamation January 1, 1863, about 4,000,000 of slaves, but only promises to pay for a certain portion of them, provided, of course, an Abolition Senate and an Abolition House will pay therefor—a promise before such a Congress, the President must know, is not worth the paper his promise "to recommend," is written on. Hence, the President must know, or ought to know, what an unhappy effect, as a mere matter of war policy, such a proclamation just now must necessarily have in Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee. Nevertheless, he hazards all this peril to his country but to please a few Abolitionists in New England, or New England Abolitionists scattered in the lake regions of the Northern States of the Union.

The President is pleased to say, in the assumption of this extraordinary power of emancipation only by Executive order, and by his recommendation of payment for slaves, and payment for colonization, from the Federal Treasury:

"I do hereby proclaim and declare, that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof in which States that relation is, or may be suspended or disturbed."

When, in these three acts, he is not only going far beyond, very far beyond, his own "Chicago Platform"—aye, even trampling under foot his solemn pledges—but is also assuming powers not delegated to him by the Constitution of the United States—and refused him by all the laws of nations for the conduct of civilized war. He has no authority in Grotius, Puffendorf, Burlamaqui, Kent or Wheaton, under the laws of nations, for the thus taking of private property—if not from rebels, from citizens of the United States, who may be loyal at heart, but who are obliged to seem rebels—because he, Abraham Lincoln, fails to exercise the Executive power of the United States to protect them from the rebellion about. The duty of the Government to protect, to uphold, is just as much a duty as the duty of the subject or citizen to obey the Government. The Government which fails in its own duty of protection, and abandons its subjects, *pro tem*, to the *de facto* Government over him, liberates him, *pro tem*, from the obligations of allegiance thereto, to the rightful Government, *de jure*. These are plain propositions of the law of nations—but, nevertheless, the loyal citizen in the rebel States is confused and confounded with the rebel, and his property is to be taken from him, by mere proclamation—without judge or jury, or without giving him power to plead rebel force, constraint, &c., over him.

Nor does the President of the United States pay any more respect in this proclamation to the Constitution of the United States than he does to the law of nations. In lieu of restoring the Constitution he destroys, emphatically, that part of it which recognizes slaves as material for representation in the Congress of the United States, and that clause, or compact, which pledges the delivery up "on claim" of fugitive slaves—as well as treaties, compacts, laws and judicial decisions, which through the statute books, and the law reports, and the whole history of the United States, from 1787 on to 1860. The proclamation is an act of revolution—the overthrow of principles, precedents, statutes, adjudications, almost innumerable. It is, in short, an appeal to the higher law, *over* or *under*, the Constitution of the United States, and if carried out, renders the restoration of the old Constitution and Union impossible.

There are other politico-economical bearings and relations in this proclamation, of the highest importance to the white labor of the North, that afford material for bountiful discussion. No man in his sane mind can ever think of the enormous deportation of four millions of slaves—or, if its taxation on white labor were endurable, of the inhumanities of such a forced emigration; or, if there were no forced inhumanities, of the sucking of the plantation States of the labor which can alone well cultivate them; or, of the enforcing upon white labor the cultivation of sugar, rice, in the rice swamps, and of cotton in tropical climates, all utterly unfit for white labor. The white man can not do field work in such States as Louisiana. It is death to him to try. But what else is to be the effect of this inconsiderate if not inhuman policy of expelling into foreign countries all the blacks of the Southern States? In short, the President proposes life *nowhere* to the African, except in Africa or Central America. This policy certainly will, if executed, preserve the power of the white race, and of white blood, in the free States, but is it a possible policy? Does he believe his own party will execute it? Have they manifested any real disposition so to do? Has he any security that they will "enact" any of his recommendations? And if they do not—and the bars of migration and immigration are broken down between the States—such bars as now keep the slaves in the slave States—what else can happen everywhere—save that which his Illinoisans apprehend—a wide, extensive immigration of these free blacks into the free States, to mix in with and to compete with the free white labor of the North? The human mind—so it seems to us—never conceived a policy so well fitted utterly to degrade and destroy white labor, and to reduce the white man to the level of the negro, as the whole of the proposed scheme.

Now, we may be locked up in Fort Lafayette for all this "free speech, and free discussion," but such fair and free discussion, while liberty exists for white men, used to be allowable, and here we venture upon it—in good faith and with the hope—that public opinion may be so aroused in the free States—that while drawing the just distinction between the support of the Government and the support of the Administration of the Government, we demonstrate, in the Congressional elections to this Administration—that their negro liberty, equality and fraternity schemes have no hold upon the Northern mind, or Northern people. President Lincoln is not "Government" only an administrator of the Government; and, while liberty is a moral and religious duty to the Government, we owe no loyalty to these revolutionary and demoralizing schemes of his proclamation. Let us show we are not to pay thirty or forty cents on tea, six or eight cents on sugar, or coffee, &c., to provide for the deportation of negroes. Let us show we lend no sanction to any negro equality or fraternity schemes of the Amalgamationists or Abolitionists. In Congress now alone, and in Congressional elections alone, can we directly reach the Administration of the Federal Government, and it becomes our solemn duty, therefore, to unite upon them, and to give them our most devoted attention.

**Proclamation by the President of the United States.**

WHEREAS, It has become necessary to call into service not only volunteers, but also portions of the militia of the States, by draft, in order to suppress insurrection existing in the United States, and disloyal persons are not adequately restrained by the ordinary processes of law from hindering this measure, and from giving aid and comfort to the rebels against the authority of the United States, shall be subject to martial law, and to trial and punishment by court martial or military commission.

Second—That the writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended in regard to all persons arrested, or who are now, or hereafter during the rebellion shall be, imprisoned in any fort, camp, arsenal, military prisons, or other place of confinement, by any military authority, or by sentence of any court martial or military commission.

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In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this 24th day of September, 1862, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty-seventh.

(Signed) ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President.

WM. H. SEWARD, Sec'y of State.

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This compound will be found a great promoter of health, when taken in the spring, to expel the foul humors which fester in the blood at that season of the year. By the timely expulsion of them many ranking disorders are nipped in the bud. Multitudes can, by the aid of this remedy, spare themselves from the endurance of all eruptions and ulcerous sores, through which the system will strive to rid itself of corruptions, if not assisted to do this through the natural channels of the body by an alterative medicine. Cleanse out the vitiated blood whenever you find its impurities bursting through the skin in pimples, eruptions, or sores; cleanse it when you find it is obstructed and sluggish in the veins; cleanse it when it is foul, and your feelings will tell you when. Even where no particular disorder is felt, people enjoy better health, and live longer, for cleansing the blood. Keep the blood healthy, and all is well; but with this purgative of life disordered, there can be no lasting health. Sooner or later something must go wrong, and the great machinery of life is disordered or overthrown.

Sarsaparilla has, and deserves much, the reputation of accomplishing these ends. But the world has been egregiously deceived by preparations of it, partly because the drug alone has not all the virtue that is claimed for it, but more because many purgative and emetic compounds, and concentrated extracts of it, contain but little of the virtue of Sarsaparilla, or any thing else.

During late years the public have been misled by large bottles, pretending to give a quart of Extract of Sarsaparilla for one dollar. Most of these have been frauds upon the sick, for they not only contain little, if any, Sarsaparilla, but often no curative properties whatever. Hence, bitter and painful disappointment has followed the use of the various extracts of Sarsaparilla which flood the market, until the name itself is justly despised, and has become synonymous with imposition and cheat. Still we call this compound Sarsaparilla, and intend to supply such a remedy as shall rescue the name from the load of obloquy which rests upon it. And we think we have ground for believing it has virtues which are irresistible by the ordinary run of the diseases it is intended to cure. In order to secure their complete eradication from the system, the remedy should be judiciously taken according to directions on the bottle.